25 Oct 4 1647

9.

The Souldiers

MARCH TO SALVATION:

Wherein is shewn the lawfulneſſe of Souldiery in a neceſſitated Warre, the lawfulneſſe of voluntary Serving upon the aſſured knowledge of a juſt Cauſe.

How far it is lawfull and neceſſary for preſt Souldiers to obey Authority in caſe of doubting.

What innocency ought to be in Souldiers, wherein is contained a plea againſt Plundering; in what caſes and with what Cautions it is lawfull to Kill, impriſon, or ſpoil an enemy;

With what courteſie enemies ſubmitting are to bee received, and with what fidelity to be protected, with other things profitable to all men as well as Souldiers.

By *Francis Bland*, Miniſter.

Printed at *Yorke*, *Anno Dom.* 1647.

The Souldiers

M A RCH

TO

SALVATION:

Wherein is shewn the lawfulnesse of Souldiery in a necessitated Warre, the lawfulnesse of voluntary serving upon the [illegible] knowledge of a just Game.

How far it is lawfull and necessary for prest Souldiers to obey Authority in case of doubting.

What innocency ought to be in Souldiers, wherein is contained a plea against Plundering; in what cases and with what Cautions it is lawfull to Kill, imprison, or spoil an enemy;

With what courtesie enemies submitting are to bee received, and with what fidelity to be protected, with other things profitable to all men swell as Souldiers.

By Francis Bland, Minister.

Printed at Tarlo [illegible] Pen, 1647.

The souldiers March to salvation

Luke. 13. 14.

And he sayed unto them, Doe violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely, and be content with your wages.

THese words containe *Iohn Baptists* answer to the souldiers search for salvation, or question, what they might doe to be saved; From whence may be collected some things generally observeable for all men, some things more pecular to military men: for the generalls we may first note the fidelity of *Iohn* in (a) taxing the faults of these souldiers, and enjoyning them to amend and reforme their lives, if they would eschew the vengeance of God; as he

(a) Mores taxat & jubet assueta emendare vitia. *Arct. stella.*

Observation.

he did also the extortion of the *Publicanes*, and the incest of *Herod*: whence we learne, what fidelity and boldnesse ought to be in Pastors and Preachers in reprehending sinnes, and calling for reformation. The Prophet must cry aloud, and and lift up his voice like a trumpet: the Apostles must be salt because of (*b*) their doctrine, which requires mortification of the flesh, faith and repentance, which are not pleasant to a Carnall man. And the wordes of the wise are as goades (*c*) which sharply prickes the slow, and awakes the sleepy, that thereby the wicked may be called from their wayes, and the godly rouſed from their naturall sluggishnesse to follow their duty with greater diligence. The necessity of this fidelity in all pastors and preachers may be learned from the duty of watchmen, as the Prophet Ezekiel is taught by God himselfe.

Isa. 58. 1.

Matth. 5. 13.

(*b*) Hæc doctrina exigit mortificationem carnis. *Mar.* Eccles. 12. 11.

(*c*) Junius & glos. Interlin. in loc.

Ezek. 33. 7.

Application.

This first teaches us our duty as S. *Paul* did *Timothy*, that we must reprove, rebuke, and exhort; Our Sermons must be rather *ad planctum* then *ad plausum*, to call men to bewaile their sinnes then to please them in their sinnes, according to the saying of an ancient father (teaching one the right way of preaching) (*d*) *when thou teachest in the Church let not the shouts, but the sighes of the people be stirred up: let the teares of the hearers be thy commendations.*

2 Tim. 4. 2.

(*d*) Docente te in Ecclesia non clamor populi, sed gemitus suscitet.

Hence also arise a just reprehension of such as seeme by silence to approve and by flatteries to encourage wicked men in their evill wayes, calling

calling evill good, and casting vailes over mens faces, and sowing pillowes under their elbowes, and heale the wound deceitfully, crying peace peace when there is no peace; and this is either through avarice and hope of gaine, or cowardice for feare of harme, if they should speake what they think, then which as S. *Ambrose* sayd to the Emperour *Theodosius*, (*e*) There is nothing before God more dangerous, and before man more base.

(*e*) Nihil in sacerdote tam periculosum apud Deum, tam turpe apud homines, quod sentiat non libere denunciare *Epist.* 5. 29.

Againe, it serves to teach you that are hearers humility in hearing the word of exhortation and reprehension, count not our plain-dealing malice, nor our selves your enemies because we tell you the truth; call us not the troublers of Israel for reprehending the vices of the times, scise us not our Sermons what we should preach as those that sayed to the Seers, see not, and to the Prophets prophecie not us right things, speake unto us smooth things, propheſie deceits; desire us not to say unto you in your bad wayes as *Ahabs* Chaplaines, *Go up, and prosper*, least your ends be like his; for the (*f*) tongues of flatterers binde mens soules in their sinnes which prepares them to chaines of utter darkenesse; you should rather say as *Cornelius* to *Peter*, *we are all here in the presence of God to heare all things which are Commanded thee of God*: or as *Eli* did *Samuel*, charge them to conceale nothing of all that the Lord hath sayed unto them. We may further from this speech of *John Baptist* to these souldiers,

(*f*) Adulantium linguæ alligant animas in peccatis. *Prosper. tit. Epigram.* 86.

Acts 10. 33.
1 Sam. 3. 17.

bidding leave their former practise and amend their wayes, by doing violence to no man, &c. observe, That in repentance to salvation there must be a forsaking of sin, and amendment of your lives; to this the Prophets and Apostles beare witnesse, *wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings, cease to do evill, learn to do well,* (thus *Isaiah*) and then he promiseth forgivenesse, that though our sinnes were red like Scarlet or Crimson, yet they should be as white as Wooll ar Snow: and againe, *let the wicked forsake his way and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and return unto the Lord. Repent and turn you from all your transgressions,* saith *Ezekiel*. And the Apostles doctrine *is, repent and be converted*; and to the same (*f*) purpose are the suffrages of the fathers, Where there is no amendment, there repentance is surely vaine, because it wants the fruit whereunto God hath appointed it: thus one: and another sayth, that true repentance doth so lament the faults committed, that it doth not committ the faults which are to be lamented; he is but a mocker, and not a true penitent that still doth the things which he lamenteth.

Isa. 1. 16.

Isa. 55. 7.

Ezek. 18. 30.

Acts 4.

(*f*) Ubi emendatio nulla, pœnitentia necessariò est vana, quia caret fructu cui Deus eam sevit. *Tertull.* Vera pœnitentia sic plangit commissa ut non committit plangenda. *Bern. medi.*

Let every one of us that desires repentance unto life, apply this unto his soul, with a saying of S. Bernard: (*g*) *If thou wilt be a true penitent, cease from sin, and sin no more*: and let every one of us think that saying of our Saviour first spoken to him that was diseased thirty and eight years, and after to the woman taken in adultery, to be

Application.

(*g*) Si vis verus pœnitens esse cessa à peccato, & noli amplius peccare. *Ubi supra.*

John 5. 14. & 8. 11

spoken

ſpoken to himſelfe, *Sin no more.*

Secondly, let us beware of flattering our ſelves in our *knowne* ſinnes, thinking with ſimple *miſerees*, ſaying, God be merciſull to me, without ſincere endeavours of reformation, to eſcape the damnation of hell; and let none of us ſpeake to himſelfe in the language of the drunkard, I ſhall have peace though I goe on to add ſin to wickedneſſe, and wickedneſſe to ſin; as drunkenneſſe to thirſt, and thirſt to drunkeneſſe; for the anger of the Lord and his jealouſie ſhall ſmoake againſt ſuch an one: let us therefore bewaile and tremble at the word of the Lord, by the Prophet, Shall I count them righteous with wicked ballances and the bag of deceitfull weights? which is as much as if it ſhould be ſaid, Shall I juſtifie him that ſtills keeps his ſin? (*b*) no, but I will condemne him, ſeeing I am the rule of juſtice: and no leſſe dangerous then this is recidivation, falling back to the mire and vomitt of our former filthineſſe, or ſinnes once forſaken, againſt which let us note well the ſaying of the ſon of Syrack; He that waſheth himſelf after the touching of a dead body, what availeth his waſhing if he touch it againe? ſo it is with a man that faſteth for his ſinnes, and goeth againe, and doth the ſame.

2.

Deut. 19. 19.

Micah 6. 11.

(*b*) Non, ſed condemnabo cum, ſim juſticiæ regula. *Groſſ. ini. in loc.*

Eccluſ. 34. 26.

From theſe generall obſervations, let us deſcend to ſome particulars, more nearly concerning the queſtioners, and men of the ſame order of life. And firſt, whereas *Iohn Baptiſt doth not bid them lay downe their Armes, nor renounce their troth*

There is a lawfull uſe of warre. Non jubet arma abjicere, Sacramento ſuo renunciare. *Calv. apud Marlorat.*

troth which they plighted; nor (as wee say) flye away from their colours. Hence is rightly collected by learned Authors in their expositions upon the place, and tractates upon this subject of warre, an Approbation of souldiery or warfare, and that there is a lawfull use of Armes, and warre, and that even unto Christians; for, *If Christians discipline did disallow all warres, the Baptist would rather have given them this Advise, that they should throw away their Armes, and withdraw themselves from all manner of warfare*; which he did not: nor yet did our Saviour forbid the Centurion, in whom was found greater faith then in Israel, to continue in his Office; Nor the Apostle S. *Peter* teach any such lesson unto the devoute Captaine *Cornelius* his family and friends, that were gathered together to heare all things that were commanded him of God; And *Solomon* tels us, that there is a time of warre, as well as a time of peace. Besides all these, we have the examples of worthy and godly men, serving God in military Affaires; Some of which are spoken of by the Apostle, *as of Gideon, of Barak, of Jephthah, of Sampson, of David, and others who through faith subdued Kingdomes, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakneſſe were made strong, waxed valiant in Battell, and turn'd to flight the Armies of Aliens*; And we finde what good service *Claudius Lysias* who commanded in chiefe the Garrisons and forces in *Hierusalem*, did unto the Church of God, by sending *Paul* away from *Hierusalem*

Chamnit. Harmon. Brent. P. Martyr. Auſtin. apud Grat. caus. 23. Aquin. 22. q. 40. Art. 1.

Si Christiana disciplina omnia bella culparet, hoc potiùs concilium Baptista dediſſet; ut arma abjicerint, ſeque militiæ omnia ſubtraherent.

Matth. 8.

Act. 10.

Eccles. 2. 8.

Heb. 5. 2.

Hieruſalem to *Cæſarea*, with a guard of two hundred Souldiers, threeſcore and ten Horſemen, and ſpear men two hundred; by which he ſafe eſcaped the conſpiracy of the Jews, that had bound themſelves with an oath to kill him; And of *Conſtantine* the great, it is recorded what helpe he did make to the Chriſtian's, by armes againſt the tyrannie of *Lycinius*, and other perſecutors. Acts 2.23. *Euſeb. de vit. Conſtan.*

Againe, as we have the conceſſion of the Spirit of God for the lawfulneſſe of warre, in not forbiding it, and the examples of worthy men ſerving God in it, ſo have we the wiſdome of the Spirit, in giving rules and lawes for military orders to be obſerved in the purſuit of warre; which is another ſtrong Argument for the lawfull uſe of Armes in needfull caſes: *otherwiſe the Spirit of God would not have given rules on this matter*; And withall adviſing not to attempt any thing in this kinde, but with mature deliberation; Thus *Solomon* teaches, *With good Advice make warre, for that is the way to ſafety.* Deut. 20. Alioqui de hâc re non ferret Leges Spititus Sanctus. *Gualter.* Prover. 20. 18. & 24. 6.

Further, that the uſe of the ſword is not only lawfull, but in ſome caſes neceſſary, may be truely collected from the ſaying of the Apoſtle, that the Magiſtrate or higher power beareth not the ſword in vaine; there being two ends of the Magiſtracy, the one the good and defence of thoſe that doe good, the other the puniſhment of thoſe that doe evil: unto which ends the uſe of the ſword is very neceſſary, for hereby the Magiſtrate is enabled to defend himſelfe and his Subjects; *Warre neceſſary in ſome caſes.* Rom. 13. 4.

himſelfe, in his juſt power, and his ſubjects in their rightfull proprieties, whereunto (without the uſe of the ſword) he ſhould ſometime be unable, by an over-powring ſtrength of a forreigne enemie, and others: ſometimes by the conſpiring and conbining togeather of inteſtine foes, and ſeditions perſons, raiſing routs and rebellions to the oppreſſion of the people, ſubverſion of States, ruines and alterations of Kingdoms and governments, and other like miſchiefes incident to human Affaires; for the prevention of which, lawes, Magiſtrates and Armes are equally neceſſary; *Vndoubtedly therefore ſeeing that there are ſuch a multitude of wicked men, as lawes are neceſſary, ſo alſo Magiſtrates, and likewiſe ſouldiers which are under them*; And wee find this practiſed by *David*, not only againſt the forraigne foes of himſelf, and his people, the Philiſtines and Ammonites: but alſo againſt the uſurpation of *Iſhboſheth*, as likewiſe againſt the rebellion of *Abſolom*, and *Shebah*, and their adherents.

Omninò enim cùm tanta ſit malorum turba, ut ſunt neceſſariæ leges, ita & magiſtratus: atque etiam qui his ſubſunt milites. *Sacer. in locum apud Marlorat.*

2 Sam. 18. & 20.

Application.

From hence we may inferre conſolations and encouragments to thoſe Princes and Magiſtrates, whom open hoſtility of forreigne enemies (as *Jehoſhaphat* aſſaulted by the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*) or the inteſtine diſobedience of unnaturall Traitours and Rebells (as *David* by the rebellions of *Abſolom*, or *Shebah*) or the exigencie and diſtreſſe of friends, (as *Lots* captivity did *Abraham*) or allies and confedrates (as the *Gibeonites* being in feare of the five Kings did *Joſhuah*)

2 Chr. 20.

ſhuah) doe neceſſitate and compell to draw the ſword, and make warre (for we do alwayes think that, *warre ought to be of neceſsity*) and do propound unto themſelves juſt ends, as defence of themſelves and ſubjects, their friends and confederates, in their juſt powers, rights, proprieties and priviledges from wrongs; Reparation of injuries, for which no reparation can be had by peace, reſtraint of violence or confuſion, ariſing by tumultuous and factious men, reſtitution of peace and publique Tranquiltie where it is violated or broken, and conſervation of it where it is aſſaulted; *for warre is waged, that peace may be obtained*; Theſe ends I ſay, and not ſiniſter and private Aimes propounded, as enſlaving free Subjects, oppreſſion of weaker ſtates, invaſions and conqueſts of others dominions, enlarging private territories and treaſures, and ſuch like; which ends doe render a warre lawfull. And together with theſe ends, doe not proſecute their warres with a purpoſe to hurt, cruelly thirſting after revenge with implacable malice, brutiſh rebellion, and deſire of dominearinge; with ſuch other like Affections, of which it is ſaid, that in warres they are juſtly condemnable, but being on the other ſide peaceably affected, only ſeeking and demanding reparation of injuries, offering conditions of peace and agreement, and having a mind prepared to embrace peace, when it ſhall be offered; and purpoſeth nothing more then to reduce thoſe whom they ſhall ſubdue unto peace and

Bellum debet eſſe neceſſitatis.

Bellum geritur ut pax quæratur.

Nocendi cupiditas, iraſcendi crudelitas, feritas rebellandi, libido dominandi; & ſi qua ſunt ſimilia, hæc ſunt quæ in bellis jure culpantur.

Esto ergò bellando pacificus, ut quas expugnas, ad pacis unitatem perducas. *Gratian. caus. 23.*

and unity, according to this direction; *be a peace-maker by warring, that those whom thou conquerest, thou maist reduce unto the unity of peace*; These I say herein may bee comforted and encouraged, their service herein is no lesse acceptable to God, though it be done by the sword, then that which they performe in the Administration of justice by the Scepter in times of peace and greatest Tranquility.

2.

Consolation to Souldiers.

Vir justus, si fortè etiam sub Rege homine sacrilego militet, rectè potest illo jubente bellare, si vice pacis, ordinem servans, quod sibi jubetur, vel non esse contra præceptum Dei certum est, vel utrùm sit certum non est; ita ut fortasse reum reddat regem iniquitas imperandi, innocentem autem militem ostendat ordo serviendi. *August. apud Gratian. ubi supra.*

Secondly, this consolation and encouragement extends unto all souldiers, that are called to armes by just Authoritie, and doe serve under their Princes in the Lords Battels; The workes of a just warre duely managed, are no more by-wayes to true happinesse, then the workes of their Ordinary vocations in times of peace; yea, so it may bee, that just and godly souldiers may serve under a wicked King or Prince, and yet may be free from sinne; *A just man if happily he serve under a King that is a sacrilegious man, may rightly warre under his Command, if instead of peace, keeping the order of warre, he be assured that the thing which is commanded him be not contrary to the commandement of God, or bee uncertaine whether it be so or not: and thus the unjust command may make the King an offender, but the order of serving may shew the souldier to be innocent.*

Unto the question which is sometime made, *Seeing Princes do sometimes raise warres from bad Affections, and for wicked ends and purposes, how should the consciences of the Subjects be satisfied?*

If

Answer.

It is answered thus, or to this purpose; The Subjects either know the cause wherein the King commands their service to bee just or wicked, or else they are ignorant or doubtfull whether it be so or not; in case of sure knowledge, there is no difficulty in answering, but they ought to obey, the cause being just, and to refuse obedience, the cause being apparantly unjust; and any thing commanded repugnant to justice, godlinesse and Religion, and are rather to suffer his displeasure, then fullfill his will contrary to a good conscience, remembring God is to be obeyed before man; but if they be doubtfull, or ignorant, then the Subject ought to be perswaded that the cause and intended ends of such warre are just, and that it is not undertaken contary to the word of God; and because subjects cannot alwayes understand the councels of their Princes, here in the case of doubting, the Rule must be followed; *hold that which is certaine, and leave the uncertainty*; but the certaine is that Princes and Powers are to be obeyed, which command nothing contrary to the word; and in so doing, as a Sanctuary or Refuge was appointed by the Lawe to him that killed his Neighbour not wilfully, or of set purpose, so the subjects are worthily excused, whilest in a doubtfull cause they obey their Prince.

Tene certũ, relinque incertum. Buch. Magist. quæst. 50.

Thirdly, this consolation and encouragement extends not only to Princes and souldiers prest and compelled to Armes by their Authority, but even unto voluntiers, such as upon the knowledge

3. Consolation to Voluntiers.

and perſwaſion of a juſt cauſe, for love to upholde the honour of God, and the King his vicegerent, and for the ſafety of their country, Church, Laws, liberties, and Religion, or for the defence and vindication of their friends, Allies and confederates, do of their owne free will and meer motion betake themſelves to Armes; ſo as not being moved with mercenary ends, reſpecting pay and hire, which are the Attractives of mercenary ſouldiers, A ſort of men condemned not only of divine but even humane Authors. As of the noble *Pyrrhus* it is ſaid, that he would not have *Huckſters of warre*, That would ſell their ſtrength and kill for mony. And a Poet Satyrically thus declames againſt them,

Cauponantes Bellum. *Tull. Offic. lib.* 1. 18.

Nulla fides pietaſque viris qui caſtra ſequuntur, Venaleſque manus; ibi fas ubi maxima merces; cere merent parvo *Lucan. lib.* 10. 406.

Faith and devotion are of one account,
To men that Campes and mercenary warre
Frequent; there's right where greateſt pay doth mount,
For little hire they ſerve, that's all they care.

But not being drawne by this conſideration of pay, or intent together wealth by pillage and booty, reſpecting neither the cauſe for which they fight, nor perſon, whether Turke, Tyrant or Traytour under whom they ſerve, which doth render the warre unlawfull, according to the ſaying of S. *Auſten, to warre it is not a ſin, but to make warre or ſerve in warre for the prey or booty, is a ſin.* but thoſe (I ſay) whoſe candid ſpirits are free from ſuch ſiniſter and baſe intendements, their

Non enim militare dilectum eſt, ſed propter prædam militare peccatum eſt *De verb. Dom. Serm.* 19.

voluntary and valourous endeavours, and adventuring their lives, and what is precious unto them, (like those noble Voluntiers the governours of Israel that offered themselves willingly among the people) as their Act is worthy of unfading honor, so may they receive infallible comfort and incouragement, and know themselves as well as others, *Not to be murderers, but ministers of the Law; not Revengers of their owne priviate wrongs, but defenders of the publike safety*; As tis noted that *Iohn Baptist* did account these souldiers in our Text. I will stretch this line no further, least I seem to flatter, only I crave leave to adde this pithy exhortation, which I have borrowed from an Author, not unlearned; and here inserted it, being very profitable for all souldiers to observe; Let the Christian souldier therefore be ever doing something, let him be couragious, faithfull, laborious, and obedient to his Commanders; Let him not slip any occasion, but be excercised in military discipline, let him not be cowardly, but valiant; not cruell and bloudy, but yet severe and withall gentle, and courteous, as times shall require; Let him spoile nothing that he can preserve, and before all things, let him not neglect his dayly and constant prayers unto God, as well in safety, as in midst of danger: let him begin all things with God, and, without God, attempt nought at all; if hee taste Adversity, let him not cast downe his heart, and if he enjoy prosperity let him not be proud, but ever thankfull,

Judg. 4. 9.

Non esse Homicidas, sed ministros legis, nec ultores injuriarum suarum, sed salutis publicæ defensores. *Aquin. Catenâ aureâ in locum.*

A profitable exhortation to all souldiers.

Semper itaque agat miles Christianus aliquid, sit strenuus, fidelis, laboriosus; centurionibus obsequens, &c. *Bullin. de Cad. 2. Ser. 9.*

full, and alwayes use the victory with clemencie and mercy; let him totally depend upon God, and desire nothing more then the defence of the Common-wealth, lawes, Religion, Justice and the innocent; and thus fighting the good fight, he shall at last obtaine the crowne of righteousnesse; and if the Lord of hosts (which is the Generall of all Armies, and other Generalls but his Officers) at his comming shall finde him thus doing, he shall be no lesse happy, then if he were found imployed in the workes of his ordinary vocation; or at his prayers and exercise of his most pious and sacred devotions, and upon his Monument may worthily be inscribed this Epitaph, *Valour was the Associate of his life and the Comerade of his death was glory.*

Fuit ejus vitæ socia virtus, gloria mortis comes. *Epitaph. Freder. D. Bavariæ cogno. victorios. apud Ph. Camerar. oper. subsecivarum, Tr. 3. c. 22.*

Having seen the lawfulnesse of souldiery, let us now come to see what is unlawfull in souldiers, taught us by these words of John Baptist, *Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely, and be content with your wages*; wherein are observable, these things.

First, that they must hurt no mans person, oppressing the poore which cannot defend themselves, wounding their Bodies, unduly affrighting them, or other wayes injuring them under pretence of their office; for it usually happens, that those Armes which the Prince commands to be taken up for the defence of the publike orders, and honesty, are turned to the dammage and ruine of the inhabitants of city and country

so;

For oftentimes the souldiers do plunder and burne houses, drive away the inhabitants, ravish the women, breake open the doores, and commit such like outrages; all which they think lawfull for them being souldiers.

Secondly, they must not accuse any man falsly, or lay some capitall crime to his charge, as some did, accusing the innocent, and making information against them to the Generall, or other chiefe Commanders, that they might thereby lick money out of the rich men, which they could not otherwayes extort out of them, and at the last some part of the goods that were confiscated, might accrew to the Informer, for their labour, and for the hire of such information.

Thirdly, they must be content with their wages, such pay as was allowed unto them by the Emperor for their labor & pains taken in war for the defence of the commonwealth, or with such proportion of victualls as was appointed them, for in times past souldiers had not their pay in mony, but in victualls; and with this *Iohn* teacheth them to be content, and not to extort mens goods from them, or to grate giftes out of them, or to borrow any thing, or buy it of them, and pay them either slowly, little, or nought at all. Thus the words are expounded by divers Authors of great learning and famous in the Church; from all which we learne, how innocent souldiers ought to be, and to offend or wrong no man in body, name or goods. Not in body, *They must do vio-*

Aret. Chemnit. Gorran. Stell. in loc.

Observation.

lence

Vi vel fraude fiat injuria. *Tull. Off. l. 1. ubi agr. de bellicis Officiis.*

lence to no man, not in name, *They must not accuse any falsely*, nor in goods *by force or fraud*; for injuries may be done either by open force or cunning subtility: but they must be content with their wages.

Eccles. 12. 11.

That I may drive this nayle (as *Solomon* cals the words of the *wise*) to the head, give me leave to beate it home with some reasons or Arguments: And first, because I speak unto Christians, this may be learned from Christ, who commands us to be innocent or harmlesse as Doves. This we are taught to be the foundation of our spirituall building up in a Christian practice and upright living, by an Ancient Father thus speaking; *whilst thou art building thy spirituall house, let the foundation be first layd not upon light sand, but upon the solid Rock, upon which thou maiest more easely reare up the high top of Righteousnesse; for he fulfilleth the greatest part of righteousnesse, that hurts no body*; and he which shall lay the foundation of innocencie, and proceed on the high topp of Righteousnesse; howsoever he shall be tossed in tumultuous warres and troubles for a short while in this life, yet shall hee be sure to find rest and peace at the last; if not in his life, yet at least in his death: as we learne from *Davids* words, *keep innocency and take heed unto the thing that is right, for that shall bring a man peace at the last*; or as the other Translation readeth it, *Marke the perfect man and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace*; or as another readeth, *the last thing that*

I.

Christianitie requires it.

Matth. 10. 16.

Ædificanti itaque tibi spiritualem domum, non super levitatem arenæ, sed super soliditatem petræ, innocentiæ inprimis fundamentum ponatur, super quod possis arduum justitiæ culmen erigere, maximam enim partem justitiæ implevit, qui nulli nocuit. *Hieron. Epist. ad Celan.*

Novissimum quod dabitur tali viro, est pax. *Munster.*

shall be given to such a man is peace. Psa. 37. 37.

A second Argument to induce souldiers to innocencie, shall be the same that *Abigail* used to restraine *David* from plundring and destroying *Nabal*, as he had resolved, in revenge of a discourtesie, in *Nabals* refusing to send him some small provision, which he requested of him in his great necessity; *My Lord* (said shee) *fighteth the Lords battels, and evill hath not been found in thee all thy dayes*; it is thus read by a learned Translatour; *If my Lord fight the Lords battels, and evil should not be found in thee*: And another thus, *Seeing thou my Lord wagest the Lords warres, therefore let not iniquity bee found in thee*: Teaching us, that those that fight the Lords battels, (as all those doe who fight under a just Authority in a good and just cause) should be carefull to be free from violence and iniquity. It is a disgrace to an honest man to have wicked persons lodge in his house, and to a School-master to have Rakehells under his tuition, and to a Generall to harbour villains under his command; but most of all it is a dishonour to the Majesty of the Lord of hosts, that wickednesse and villany should march under his colours, and take up quarters in his leaguers and garrisons.

II. *The nature and property of a godly war requires it.*

1 Sam. 25. 28. Si bella Jehovæ Dominus meus gerat, & malum non inveniatur in te. *Junius.* Cùm prælia Domini Domine tu præliaris, malitia ergò non invenitur in te. *Vulgar.*

A third reason may be collected also from other words of *Abigail* in the pursuit of her businesse unto *David*, *This shall be no grieve unto thee, nor offence of heart to my Lord* (saith shee) *either that thou hast shed blood causelesse, or that my*

III. *Innocency preserves from grief of heart, and torture of conscience.*

Verse 35. *Lord hath avenged himselfe*; if her former argument will not move, her latter surely will prove effectuall; though a man respect not the glory of God, yet surely he will (even of selfe-love) have respect to his owne comfort, and freedom from a tormenting conscience, which by innocencie is conserved; and know all men assuredly, that those who now lay siege to Townes and Castles, shall one day either in warre or peace, in bed or battel be besieged with the memory of their sinnes; and then,

Hic murus aheneus erit, Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa. *Horat. Ep. 1.*

This unto him shall be a Brazen Wall,
His Conscience to fear no sinn at all.

A strong Fort (I say) it shall be, and impregnable to all the Hellish Furies, to have a Conscience void of offence before God and man, when innocent and causelesse blood, plundered Goods, and unjust Booty, shall be unto the Actors thereof, as the Elephants blood unto the Dragons, that *sucking the blood of the Elephants, do kill them, and they themselves, being drunk & therewith, oppressed, not able to digest it, die also*: So those that by violence, rapine and injustice have killed and undone others, shall by such deeds be utterly and eternally undone themselves.

Exugentes sanguinem Elephantorum eos occidunt, & ipsi vicissim inebriati opprimuntur & commoriuntur. *Plin. Hist. nat. l. 8. cap. 8.*

Violence in Souldiers makes the expedition unsuccessfull.

A fourth reason recalling souldiers from violence, may be taken from the malignant effect or consequence hereof, that it makes the expedition unsuccessefull, and prepares discomfiture to the whole

whole Army, and that by these particulars.

First, hereby the accesse of their prayers unto God, & his acceptance of them is hindered, according to the menace of the Propher *Isaiah*, *When you spread out your hands I will hide mine eyes, yea when you make many prayers I will not hear, your hands are full of blood.* The necessity of innocent hands to be presented to God in prayer, those that had onely naturall Theologie well perceived, and therefore the Persians arriving at *Delphos* with a Navy of a thousand Ships, did present in *Apolloes* Temple *rather religious then rapacious hands.* And for the practice and efficacy of prayers in Armies, we have the examples of *Jehoshaphat* assaulted by the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, and of the Christian Emperours *Constantine*, who appointed prayers unto his souldiers, and taught them to ascribe the Victories unto God, and to crave his blessing and assistance for the time to come; and *Theodosius*, who counted his prayers his best and accustomed Forces. Besides, our own Chronicles relate the effect of prayer in the Army of King *William* the Conquerour, who the night and morning before the Battell with *Harold*, did give themselves to acknowledge their sins, prayer, and communicating the Lords Body; whilest *Harold* and his Forces spent the whole night in drinking, singing and dancing.

Exercitus quem injuria & audacia antecedit plerumque cladem & interitum omi-naturi.

Isa. 1. 51.

I.

Their prayers are hindred.

Religiosas potiùs quàm rapaces manus. *Val. Max. l. 1. c. 1.*

2 Chron. 20.

Euseb. de vit. Constant. lib. 4. c. 20.

Ruffin. lib. 2. c. 33.

Stow.

2. The conscience, wherin remains the memory of former violence & injustice, makes men Cow-

II.

Memory of former violence makes men Cowards.

ards, and afraid to grapple with death, which they must encounter together with their enemies in the field; and so afraid of their enemies, as Deaths messengers: *The reward of an evill Conscience is to fear those unto whom a man might be a terrour*; and this makes them to be *as swift as Harts in time of warre*, that are *as stout as Lyons in time of peace*; whereas a candid and clear conscience that is not terrified with the memory of by-past sins, makes them that expedite a good cause as bold as Lyons. It was a noble saying of one *Dercyllidas* a Senatour of *Lacedemonia*, hearing that *Pyrrhus* lead a great Army against them, and threatned sore, *If he be a God that threatens us, let us not fear, for we do nothing amisse: but if he be a man, let him know that he threatens men.* This (I say) is the fruit of a guiltlesse conscience, which may encourage the possessor to say of his enemies, *Kill me they may, hurt me they cannot.* But the evill conscience, fearing death, not onely as the dissolution of Nature, but as Gods Provost-Marshall, to arrest him, binde him hand and foot, neck and heels, and so cast him into utter darknesse and eternall torments; no wonder it is if it beget a cowardize the heart of Souldiers, and so they become either Runawayes from their Colours, or in hot service to hang back, which giveth advantage to the enemie, discourageth their fellows, disorders the Army, and hazzards all.

Merces malæ conscientiæ est timere eos, quibus terrori esse licuit. In prælio cervi, in pace Leones. *Beza in Annot. at. Mar.* 11.32. *apud Jun. in Bibl. Majo.*

Siquidem Deus est qui minatur, non timeamus, nihil enim injustè agimus; sin homo, norit quòd viris minetur. *Stob. de fortitud. cap.* 7. Occidere possunt, lædere non possunt.

IV.

Violence and injustice causeth God to withdraw his help from the whole Army

Thirdly, violence, rapine and injustice in some

Souldiers causeth God to withdraw himself from the whole Army, and so *for wicked and impious men the rest are destitute of the help of God, and beaten of their enemies*; yea, although they otherwise prosecute a good Cause, as is apparent in the case of *Achan*, whereunto I referr you; and of the Jewes affairs in their warrs, it is observed by *Chrysostome*, that *they were conquered not of the weakness of Body, but of their wickedness*; and further notes, how the Midianites understanding that the Israelites could not be vanquished by the sword, cunningly sought to bring them into sin, by sending their daughters to commit whoredome with them, and then *after they fell into sin they became easie to be subdued of all, and those whom Arms, and Horses, and Souldiers and so many enemies could not take, the nature of sin betrayed them bound unto their enemies*. And not unlike to this observation of this Ancient Father is the observation and sad complaint of the impiety and wickedness of some souldiers by a learned Author of latter times, *what fruit I pray, you reap we from such seed? we are conquered of the Turks, we are a scorn to all Nations; Kingdoms perish and are subdued to Mahometisme, and wee are daily involved in inexplicable miseries*. Thus by violence, rapine and other sinns in souldiers, whilest their prayers are rejected, their courage abated, and Gods favour and help alienated, are whole Armies routed and discomfited, and thereby Kingdoms overthrown and ruinated.

A fourth

Propter impios & sceleratos homines, cæteri Divinâ ope destituti ab hostibus cæduntur. Josh. 7.

Non ex infirmitate corporis, sed ex peccato vincebantur. *Chrysost. Hom.* 14. *ad populam Tom.* 4.

Postquàm in peccatum cecidêrunt omnibus facti sunt expugnabiles, & quos arma & equi, & milites, & tot machinamenta capere non potuerunt, hos peccati natura vinctos hostibus tradidit.

Sed quales oro fructus metimus hodiè ex hujusmodi semente? vincimur à Turcis, ludibrium sumus omnibus gentibus, pareti & Mahometismo subduntur regna; & inexplicabilibus indiem malis involvimur. *Bullin. Decad.* 2. *Ser.* 9.

IV. *Violence and injustice are unfruitfull in the end.*

A fourth reason, and that a very forcible one to dissuade souldiers, and indeed all manner of men from violence, rapine and injustice, may be taken from the unfruitfulnesse of such Acts, and consideration of what benefit is gotten by such deeds; suppose a man could get into his hands all the wealth of the world, and bring the Kingdoms under his dominion, when he shall thinke to sing a Requiem to his soule and to take his ease, having goods laid up for many years, at last hee must heare or feele what is spoken to the Richman, *Thou fool this night shall they fetch away thy soule from thee, then whose shall those things be that thou hast gotten?* Those Kingdoms which thou hast subdued, those Lands and Houses which thou now possessest, having expelled the old inhabitants, those clothes and jewells wherewith thou now arrayest and adornest thy selfe, whilest the ancient owners goe forlorne and distitute, whose shall they be? thine they shall not be, for thy soule shall be fetched away from thee; and for thy body, naked camest thou out of thy mothers wombe, and naked shalt thou returne thither; All thy high Trophies and rich prizes and booties left behind thee, and then, if thy desires were as boundlesse as *Alexanders* of whom it was said that,

Luke 12.20.

Unus Pellæo Juveni non sufficit Orbis. *Juvenal. Satyr.* 10.

One world doth not the Pellean youth suffice.

Yet,

Sarcophago contentus erit.

Then with a Cophine thou must be content.

but

But if thy Aſhes after thy death ſhall have the honour of a Statue, or a rich Monument, yet time will conſume it, or malice breake it downe. As *Scipio Africanus* his Statue was broken downe, and removed from the place where it was firſt ſet; and the brazen urne wherein his aſhes were put, with an Epitaph inſcribed, of which theſe verſes were a part,

whom neither Europe could reſiſt,
nor Afrique in times paſt,
See mens Affayres, how him doth bold
a little turn at laſt.

Cui non Europa, non obſtitit Africa quondam, Reſpice res hominum quàm brevis urna tenet *Epitom. Plutarch. per Darium Tiberium.*

But might they ſo part with on even hands their acts of violence, plundering and injuſtice, happy were they; but then comes their miſchiefe, that as S. Auſten ſayth, *This is the unhappineſſe of men, that the thing for which they ſin when they die, they leave here behind them, But their ſinnes themſelves they cary along with them*; and an heavy burthen will ſuch a carriage be unto their ſoules. *Achans* heape of ſtones, which were caſt upon him, were heavier ſure then the Babyloniſh garments, and all the Gold and Silver that he had plundered at *Hiericho*: But if thoſe ſtones were poyſed, they would be found lighter by much then the guilt of thoſe ſinnes, which by violence, plundering, rapine, and other Acts of injuſtice, men doe contract unto their ſoules, ſo heavy is it, as they are not able to beare it; and

Ipſa eſt infelicitas hominum propter quod peccant morientes hic dimittunt, at peccata ipſa ſecum portant. *Hom. 2.*

Joſhua 7. 26.

yet so adhering that they were not able to shake it of. Oh who is able to expresse with what unwillingnesse the soul at death doth undertake its necessitated departure, being loath to leave the things that were precious to it, and appear before God with a conscience blotted with innocent blood, and other acts of cruelty and injustice, which if it might, it would now cast away with as much disdaine and anguish of spirit, as *Iudas* did the thirty peeces of silver gotten for betraying Christ; and through the terrour of an accusing conscience, despairing, cry out, I have sinned in shedding the blood, cheating, extorting, and plundering the goods, and in slandering and defaming the credits and causes of just and innocent persons. There is an excellent passage in S. *Bernard*, which we will borrow, being very profitable to the pursuance of this Argument: When the soul with great feare and mighty griefes is separated from the body, then do the Angels command, arrest it, and bring it before the Throne of the dreadfull Judge, and then the silly soule remembring all the evil, yea the worst deeds, which day or night it wrought, shal tremble & crave sparing, or (as wee say) cry quarter, saying, give me leave & sparing, if it be but for an hours space; but then his sinnes (as it were) speaking, shall say unto him, Thou hast wrought us, we are thy deeds, wee will not leave thee, but we will be alwayes with thee, and goe with thee to judgement; Then his vices shall accuse his soule with many and

Cùm magno metu, magis doloribus anima separatur à corpore, &c. *Meditat. Devot. cap.* 2.

sundry

ſundry crimes, and ſhall find many falſe witneſſes againſt it, though the true ones are enough to its condemnation; The divels alſo with a terrible countenance and horrible aſpect, ſhall affright it, and with a great fury perſecute it, and catch at it, deſiring to keep and poſſeſſe it, except there be ſome to deliver it: then the ſoule findes the eyes and mouth and other ſenſes ſhut up, by which it was wont to goe out and ſolace it ſelfe in outward things, ſhall turne back into it ſelfe, and ſeeing it ſelfe all alone and naked, ſhall (thorow deſpaire) faile in it ſelfe, and fall under its owne ſelfe; And becauſe for the love of the world and pleaſure of the fleſh it hath forſaken the love of God, it ſhall be forſaken of God in the houre of ſo great neceſſity, and be delivered to the divels in Hell to be tormented. Thus farre S. *Bernard*, whoſe Meditation, (were it well thought upon and ſeriouſly beleeved) would worke undoubtedly a great reſtraint in men from many acts of violence and injuſtice, which now without ſcruple of conſcience they commit.

But ſuppoſing all that hath been ſaid to be ſpoken of friends, what may be done to enemies? ſure it is lawfull to uſe all violence againſt them; Queſt.

Hereunto I anſwer; Firſt we are to conſider enemies as men opponent to peace and juſtice, and to theſe they are by warrs to be reduced; And no other ends in the purſuite of enemies by ſword and hoſtile Acts are to be ſought for; According to the ſaying of *Tully*, For this end are Anſw.

Ut in pace cum justitiâ vivatur. *Offic. lib. 1. Gratian. ubi supra.* Pax quæsita. *Aust.*

wars undertaken: *that men may live in peace with justice.* And S. *Austen* calls a just warre, *peace sought*, or *a seeking of peace*: These Authors from Nature and Divinity, teaching us, that whatsoever is done in warre ought to aime at these ends of peace and justice: As first, to offer conditions of peace, as was commanded by God unto the people of Israel, and if they should be accepted, then their enemies were to be preserved in safety; upon the performance of tribute or conditions agreed on.

Deut. 20.10.

Secondly, if such conditions of peace should be refused, then were the enemies to be prosecuted in hostile manner, as killing the men and spoyling their goods: But here the Lord, though he gave the Israelites liberty against their enemies, yet he gave them two rules of restraint;

Ibid. 12.13

First, the sword should not touch the innocent, as women and children.

Secondly, regard was to be had of such things as were necessary to the preservation of life, as fruit-trees, of which respect was to be had, that they were not to be cut downe for any service in warre or in a siege of a City; because *the Tree of the field is mans life*: The like we may understand of corne-fields and Meadowes, Gardens, and Orchards; by the fruit and strength whereof mans life is preserved; and surely the conservation of these, both in Leaguers and Marches, ought very heedfully to be provided, whether they belong to friends or foes; If they belong friends,

Deut 20.19.

it is inhumane to ſpoyl or waſte them; if they belong to enemies, it is great pollicy to preſerve them, that the Army may be ſupplied with neceſſaries; and here if I could doe it without ſeeming to digreſſe, I would gladly plead for the ſafety and immunity of the fruits of the ground from ſpoyle and devaſtation in warrs, and make ſuite for a protection for the husbandman and his labours, together with things belonging unto husbandry, that they might be ſafe from violence, the neceſſity of Agriculture or husbandry being of ſuch conſequence, that by it onely both in warres and peace the life of Kings and Kingdoms is conſerved; for this cauſe there was an Imperiall Lawe, that husbandmen and ſuch as were occupied in country buſineſſes, whilſt they were reſident in villages and country-Townes, ſhould be ſecure in any part of the Empire, ſo as none ſhould be found that dare preſume to invade, take or violently carry away their perſons, Oxen, inſtruments of Husbandry, or whatſoever belonged unto the country-work; and if any man ſhould dare through raſh boldneſſe to violate and breake this Statute, he ſhould reſtore what he had taken fourefold, ſhould incurre infamie by the Law, and be further puniſhed at the Generals or Emperours diſcretion: And as the the commonwealth, ſo the Church according to its power did provide for the priviledge and ſafety of husbandmen among others, that, *Thoſe who were employed in Husbandry, and their cattell*

Camerar. Meditat. Hiſt. Tom. 1. cap. 5. Tom. 2. cap. 22.

Concil. Lateranenſ.

In agricultura exiſtentes & animalia

quibus arant, & Semina portant ad agrum, congruâ securitate lætentur.

wherewith they tilled the ground, and carried seed to the field, should enjoy convenient security: And of *Cyrus* the great it is registred, that when he went to warrs, he caused proclamation to be made, that husbandmen should be spared, and that the conquest should be so ordered, that they might still remaine in their possessions; and of *Xerxes* King of Persia in his expedition against the Græcians, that he gave charge for the indemnity of Country men, saying unto one *Artabanus, Let us fight with armed men, and souldiers, and not with shepherds*; And of the ancient *Indians* it was counted a wrong in warres, either to take the husbandmen, or to spoyle their fields; and such was their care for husbandry, that at one and the same time and place some did meet and joyn battle with their enemies; when others did plow and digge, and that without any danger. This course was taken by *Charles* the fifth, in his warres with *Francis* King of *France*, in *Piedmount*; so as they kept either of them a numerous Army, for certaine years, otherwise provision would quickly have been wanting to their Forces.

Armatis viris non pastoribus bellum inferamus

But to return from whence we digressed; women, and children being spared, the fruits of the earth conserved, and husbandmen kept indemnified, those, who by force and Armes oppose peace and justice, to such armed powers as seeke to establish them, to kill and slay, none will deny to be Acts of Justice: or to take them alive, and imprison

priſon or enſlave them, and to appropriate their Goods, Riches, and Poſſeſſions as a lawfull prize unto the conquerors; And yet herein much caution is to be had, whereunto it ſhall not be unprofitable to obſerve theſe Rules.

I. *How to kill an enemy in warre.*

Firſt, in killing, ſlaying and taking away the life of the enemy, is much regard to be had with what mind, intentions, and affections it is done. S. *Bernard* hath a diſtinction very profitable to this purpoſe.

Si prævales, & voluntate ſuperandi vel vindicandi, fortè occidis hominem vivis, homicida. *Bern. ad milit. Templ.*

Firſt, *If thou prevaileſt, and perhaps killeſt a man out of deſire of conqueſt and revenge, then thou liveſt a Murtherer*; which name who is he that would not be loath to carry among men, or that his ſoule ſhould appeare in the preſence of God with ſo grievous a ſin upon the conſcience, as the murther of a man: that creature whereon God hath ſet the glorious character of his own Image.

Eſt tamen quī non ulciſcendi zelo, nec vincendi typho, ſed tantùm evadendi remedio interficit hominem.

Secondly, *There is nevertheleſſe ſome which neither out of zeal, to revenge, nor deſire of victory, kils a man, but only for remedies ſake*, of avoyding or eſchewing ſome ill; as to ſuppreſſe Rebellion, to reſiſt invaſions, oppeſſions and the like; In which caſes to kill an enemie is undoubtedly lawfull. And yet herein it ſhall much behove the killer, (though neceſſity compell him to deſtroy the body of his enemie) to wiſh well unto him that falleth under his hand, and together with the wounds of death which hee giveth him, to pray unto God to ſave his ſoule, and to grant him repentance, faith, and every grace that

is

is needfull to everlasting life.

II. *Clemency to be shewn to subdued and conquered enemies.*

Againe, not only in taking away the life of the enemy, but also in imprisoning or enslaving his person, and taking his goods, appropriating them to the Conquerours themselves, is much moderation and gentle clemency to be used. And that for these Reasons;

1. *Humanity requires it.*

First humanitie requires it, the conquerours and conquered being both of one Nature, and deriving their originals both from one Roote, and that these warres as other oppositions, are the consequents of mans fall, wherein the Conquerours, and conquered had equall share, being in the loyns of *Adam*, which should move the Conquerours to pity those who by hostile Acts, whether force or feats of warre, are subdued; And to say of them as *Ahab* King of *Israel*, said of *Benhadab* King of *Syria*, subdued by his Forces, and making suit for quarter, *Hee is my Brother*; and the conquerours should behold neither the mortall wounds, nor the living miseries of their subdued enemies, but with compassion. Thus of *Aneas* it is said, when he saw the blood and fall of *Lausus* his enemie, slaine by his owne hand, *He lamented him pitifully*; and therefore is called, *The image of piety* (I may say, *of pitie*;) And of *Marcellus*, which having conquered *Syracusa*, which had stood out very obstinately against him, and standing upon a high place that he might behold the condition of that Citie, which of late was most rich and flourishing, but now most miserable, hee could

1 King. 20. 32.

Ingenuit miserans. *Virgil Æneid Lib. 10.*

Pietatis imago.

could not abstaine from weeping, so as if some man had seen him, and not known how the case had been, he would have thought the victory to have been anothers; which made one say to distressed Sicilie, *This may be some gratulation or mitigation of thy griefe, Because seeing thou mightest not stand in safety, thou fallest so easily under so gentle a Conquerour*, Omitting other examples, these shew us, that *The sweetnesse of humanity pierceth the brutish dispositions of Barbarians, mollifieth the hard and cruell eyes of enemies, and bendeth those spirits that are most proud and insolent of their victory, it conquereth Anger, scals hatred, and mixeth the blood of an enemie with his enemies teares.*

Againe, as humanity, so Christianity teacheth us to be propense and ready to clemency and mercy unto conquered enemies; *Seeing those warrs which are waged amongst Christians, when they are of one Religion, are more then civill warrs, yea though they be just, our Magistrates (except their be just reasons that withstand it) ought to carry minds so much more ready to shew mercy unto those that are conquered*; And not only Magistrates and Commanders, but all souldiers and military men, even for Christianities sake, (if so be they be Christians) ought to be ready to shew mercy and gentlenesse to those that are subdued, or brought under their power: Excellent and imitable is the example of the valiant and victorious first Christian Emperour *Constantine*, who

Quia si tibi incolumi stare fas non erat, leviter sub tam mansueto victore cecidisti. Humanitatis dulcedo etiam inesperata barbarorum ingenia penetrat; orbosque & truces mollit hostium oculos, ac victoriæ insolentissimos spiritus flectit, vincit iram; prosternit odium, hostilemque sanguinem hostilibus lachrymis permiscet. *Val. Max. lib. 5. cap.*

Cùm bella quæ inter Christianos geruntur, cùm sint ejusdem religionis, etiamsi justa fuerint, plusquàm civilia sint; nostri magistratus (nisi obsteterint justæ rationes) eò animos debent habere propensiores ad misericordiam victis impetrandã. *Pet. Mart. in qu. occid. an serv. captiv. loc. 17. cla. 4*

who in his warres, during the battell, gave charge, *That there should not be a slaughter of many, wherby he tooke no more care for the safety of his owne, then of his enemies*; and when victory was gotten, his charge was, *That they should have mercy on the prisoners, and seeing they were men, the oblivion or forgetfulnesse of humane nature should never overtake them*; And if at any time he saw the minds of his Souldiers to be very fierce, he would refraine them with gifts; and further gave order, that if any could take an enemy alive, he should be rewarded; by which means the wisdome of the Emperour found out an alluring way for the conservation of men, so as infinite numbers, even of very Barbarians, escaped safe; Of this rare goodnesse and mercy of the Emperour, one (as it were sighing) thus speaks, *Alas for this clemency and gentlenesse that it is out of fashion in this our Age!*

Ne multorum fieret cædes, unde non magis suorum, quàm hostium saluti prospexit. *Euseb. de vitâ Constant. lib. 2. c. 13.*

Ut captivorum misereantur, & cùm homines essent, humanæ naturæ nequaquàm eos caperet oblivio

O clementiam nostrâ ætate insolentem. *Gryn. Annot. in loc. Euseb.*

III.

A motive to clemency will be to consider what may befall to the Conqueror

Further it would much induce the victors or conquerours to shew clemency and be kind to the conquered and subdued, if they should reflect upon themselves, and seriously bethink what clemencie or kindnesse they would desire if they were in the same case, and therewith remember the speech of our Saviour, *whatsoever yee would that men should do unto you, doe yee even so unto them*; and that *with the the same measure that yee meete to others, it shall be measured to you againe*. And surely such considerations may well at some time take hold of them, as *Julius Cæsar*, hearing

Math. 7. 12.

Luke. 6. 38.

this

this sentence, *It may befall to every one, that befalls to any one.* he fell a weeping, and being demanded the cause of such teares, he answered, *I lament the fall of Pompey, I am also afraid of mine own fortune.* And it is a very frequent, that the same quarter men give to others, they receive backe againe from others, as in the case of *Abimelech* and *Agag*, Generall *Ioab* and others, may be seen. To be short, a warning peece unto all men may be that severe threat of the Lord by the prophet *Isaiah*, *woe unto thee that spoylest* (or as we say plunderest) *and thou wast not spoyled, and dealest treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee: for when thou shalt cease to spoile, thou shalt be spoiled.* In which wordes the prophet seemes to threaten the King of *Assyria*, or the land, or *Niniveh*, the chiefe city of *Assyria*, which did oppresse, spoile and plunder the Nations about them, that they should be spoiled afterward: As if it should be said, Woe unto thee that spoilest and plunderest the Nations about thee; *Now thou maist spoile and plunder at thy pleasure, there is no strength to resist thee: but there will be some one time or other, that will plunder thee againe;* which came to passe when the *Chaldeans* did come and destroyed *Niniveh*, so the *Assyrians* did plunder the *Jews*, and the *Chaldees* did plunder the *Assyrians*; wee will conclude with a sentence of an Heathen Author, a little refined, *Thus doth the providence of God change the affaires and businesse of men.*

Cuivis contingere potest, quod cuiquam contigit. Pompei casum deploro, & meam fortunam metuo.

Judges 17.
1 Sam. 15. 33.
2 King. 2. 33.

Isa. 33. 1.

Nunc tibi grassari licet, nullæ vires resistunt, sed erunt aliquando qui vos vicissim prædentur. *Calv. in loc.* Sic mortalium negotia Divina (fortuna) Providentia versat. *Val. Maxim. cap. 1. de Pomp.*

IIII. *Courteous usage and gentlenesse to the conquered, drawes others to voluntary submission.*

Unto these Arguments we may add this one, that gentle and courteous usage of those that are subdued, helpeth to draw others unto a voluntary submission, to lay down Armes, and embrace peace and justice; as *Benhadab* King of *Syria* his servants moved their Master, that with sackcloth upon their loyns, and Roaps about their neckes they might crave pardon for him, and obtaine a pacification at the King of *Israels* hands (whom he had unjustly by warre provoked) because they had heard that the Kings of the house of Israel were mercifull Kings; And of *Tygranes* King of *Armenia* his willing submission (as an Authour reportes) to *Pompey*, is ascribed to his assurance of *Pompeys* clemency; whereas on the other part, if there be not a certaine expectation of gentle and kind usage upon submission it makes enemies that they will fight it out to the last man, and rather chuse to die in battell, then to submit, yea perchance bring death upon themselves, as *Rhasis*, of whom in the history of the *Maccabees* it is reported, That he first fell upon his own sword, then leaped downe from awall amongst his enemies, and at last pulled out his owne gutts, and threw them among them; chusing rather such a death, then to fall into the hands of the wicked, and be abused otherwise then beseemed him: or if captives be discourteously used, it will drive them to worke some feate to bring destruction upon their Victors or Conquerours, yea though it be purchased with

2 King. 20. 31.

Plutarch.

2 Maccab. 14. 41.

their

their owne ruine also; As *Sampson* pulling the house upon himselfe, and the Philistines, triumphing over him, so he became revenged for the great indignitie which he suffered, and at his death he slew more then he had done in his life. The sum of all these arguments is, that Humanitie, Christianitie, consideration of like future condition, and the motive to induce others opponents and enemies to voluntary submission, and pacification, may plead for, and obtaine clemency and courteous dealing with enemies subdued and conquered. Judg. 16.

V.

Humanitie and kindenesse to be shewn to enemies after their death.

Something would yet be spoken of dealing humanely and courteously with a enemie, and that even after his death, which in a word is to commend his body to due burials; There was a law among the *Hebrewes* that they should not suffer the dead bodies of their enemies to lie unburied, and we find how *David* did take in good part the action of the men of *Jabesh-Gilead* that buryed *Saul*, who had been his enemie, and slaine by anothers hand; And of the worthy *Judas Maccabeus*, that he used to burie the bodies of his slaine enemies; yea, we have the heroique Heathens, performing thus much, as *Cæsar* to his enemie *Pompey*, whose head being cut off and lying long unburied, (*forgetting that he had been an enemie*) he caused to have an honourable funerall fire perfumed with many precious and sweet spices; And *Marcus Antonius* gave the body of *Marcus Brutus* his late enemie, unto one 2 Sam. 2. 4.

2 Mac. 12. 39.

Oblitus hostis.

that had been *Brutus* his servant, that it might be buried; and to the end it might have the more honourable rites, he gave him his owne Roabes to cover his Corps in the funerall: *His hatred being laid aside, counting him, being dead, not as an enemie, but a Citizen*; And *Hannibal* would not suffer the bodies of his enemies *Æmylius Paulus*, *Tiberius Gracchus*, and *Marcus Marcellus* to lie unburied, but caused them to be interred, saying, *that Paulus Gracchus and Marcellus brought him somewhat greater honour being buried, then being subdued by him*. These examples from holy and humane Stories, are enough to convince the inhumanitie of those who rifle and stripp the bodies of their slaine enemies, and so leave them naked to be a prey to ravenous Birdes and Beasts: I wish it might not be sometime said of such, *The dead Bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the Ayre, and the flesh of thy Saints unto the beasts of the land.*

Iacentem non hostem, sed civem depositò existimans odio.

Aliquantò ei plùs gloriæ Paulus Gracchus, & Marcellus sepulti, quàm oppressi attulerunt.

Psalmes.

VI.

How to deal with enemies submitting, and accepting peace offered unto them.

There are yet another sort of Enemies, which upon the offer of conditions of peace, (which, as we have shewed afore out of *Deut.* 20. 10, 11. were to be made at the beginning of Warre) shall accept of such conditions, and submit, or shall desire to be received into protection, upon conditions to be agreed upon; these upon the performance of such conditions, may challenge a greater measure of kindnesse and gentle dealing, then any of which it is yet spoken, they are not only to be suffered, but to be saved and kept harmlesse

Iesse; Thus *Joshuah* did not onely spare the Gibeonites, that they should not suffer by any under his command, but did also protect them against the Kings of the Amorites which came against them: And when *Saul* out of his zeal to the Children of *Israel*, would have broken the League, and destroyed the *Gibeonites*, God punished his attempt with three yeers Famine, and at last by hanging up seven of *Sauls* Sons. And *David* was much offended, and cursed the act of *Joab* (who was Generall of his Forces against *Ishbosheth*) treacherously murthering *Abner*, who had been in open & actuall Rebellion against him, and Generall of *Ishbosheth* his Forces, after he had granted him pardon. And of the noble and victorious Emperour *Constantine* it is recorded, that if those that were of the contrary part, finding themselves to weak to resist his power, would come and lay down Armes, and falling down at his feet, crave quarter and pardon, he would receive them all, and keep them safe; *As taking delight in saving of men.* It would be too long to relate all examples of this sort, as of *Pompey*, who having conquered *Tygranes* King of *Armenia*, would not suffer him to bee long craving his favour, but with good words comforted him, and restored him his Crown, which he had cast down at *Pompey* his feet, and restored him to his former estate, *Judging it alike honourable to create Kings, as to conquer them.* And the famous act of *Lucius Paulus*, who hearing that *Perses*, (who of a King in

2 Sam. 21.

2 Sam. 27. 28.

Euseb. de vit. Constant. lib. cap. 10.

Utpote ex hominibus conservandis capiens voluptatem. *Plutarch. Valer. Max.*

Æquè pulchrum esse judicans, devincere Reges & facere.

in a short time was made a captive) was brought to him, he went out to meete him, in his Impertiall Roabes, and when the captivated King would have fallen on his knees before *Lucius Paulus*, he would not suffer him, but lifted him up, bad him be of good comfort, brought him into his Tent, made him sit beside him in his counsell, vouchsafed him the honour of his Table, with other courteous Respects; In which Spectacle of *Perses* subjected, and *Lucius Paulus* so humanely and kindely dealing with him, it may appeare, that if it bee a famous Act to subdue an enemie, it is *No lesse praise worth to know how to take pitie upon the afflicted and him that is in misery*; Thus from sacred and humane Authoritie may be learned, with what gentle and courteous Respect to entertaine, and fidelitie to protect enemies upon conditious of peace, and submission.

Non minùs laudabile infelices scire misereri.

Applycation. I. *To souldiers.*

The Application of this which hath been spoken will be of singular use to all souldiers, and all men whosoever are employed in militarie Affaires, to prevent that excuse which S. *Austen* notes to have been common among souldiers, and other officers of publicke businesses, *when they greatly offend they excuse themselves at first with this saying, that they are souldiers*; as if then it were lawfull for them to doe any thing. *Tertullian* speaking of souldiers, that are Christians, requires two things of them: the one, That they commit nothing against God, the other, That they be ready to suffer for God; *For warre promiseth*

Cùm graviter peccant, hâc solent à peccatis suis primâ voce se excusare, quòd militant. *In verb. Dom. ser. 19.*

Tertull. de corona Militis.

miſeth neither impunity, nor freedom from puniſh-ment of ſin, nor immunitie or priviledge from Martyrdome: But ſome will ſay, becauſe they are ſouldiers, they muſt needs do ſo; but our Author will tell us, *There is no neceſſity to ſin layed upon them, upon whom lyeth the only neceſſity not to ſin at all*. In that which hath been ſaid, we have ſeen the neceſſity of not ſinning, by violence and falſe accuſations againſt any man, and how ſouldiers ſhould carry themſelves to friends and enemies, rather to be helpfull to both, then by injuſtice hurtfull to either; To hurt a friend is villainous, to help an enemie (ſo it redound not to our owne wrong) or to abſtaine from harming him, is a token of a minde truly noble and valourous: ſuch I wiſh were billeted in all ſouldiers breaſts, and that there could not be found any (among Chriſtians eſpecially) which neither reſpect friend nor foe, ſo as their owne pleaſure or profit may be promoted; ſuch a one *Eraſmus* ſaith he once met with, and heard him (being a Captaine) thus advice his ſouldiers: *They ſhould plunder what they could, whether the goods of their friends or foes; for howſoever the matter ſhould fall, at the worſt they could but be compelled to reſtitution: and at the leaſt ſome part of the pillage would remaine with the plunderer*; But leaving ſuch to the Judgement of the Lord of Hoſts, it ſhal bring more honour to Souldiers in their life, and more comfort and hope at their death, if they ſhall obſerve this counſell which *Aurelianus*

Nec enim delictorum impunitatem, & Martyriorum immunitatem militiæ promittit.

Nulla eſt neceſſitas delinquendi, quibus eſt una neceſſitas non delinquendi.

Ut prædarentur quicquid poſſint, ſive eſſent bona amicorum, ſive inimicorum, ut enim res peſſimè caderet, cogerentur ad reſtituendum; ſed interim aliquam prædæ portionem reſidere apud raptorem. *Eraſm. in annotat. ſuper locum.*

the Emperour gave to his Tribune, or Sergeant-major; *If thou wilst be a Tribune, yea if thou intendest to live, restraine the hands of the souldiers, let no man steal another mans chicken, let no man touch another mans sheep, let no man pluck another mans grape, let none thrash out another mans corne, let every one be content with his owne victualls, and let him have what hee gets out of the spoyle of his enemies, and not out of the teares of such as are under our charge, whom wee should protect*: And the Admirable discipline of the Turkes is worth learning (and I wish it rise not up in Judgement against Christians) of which it is said: That no souldier dare take any thing injustly, if he doe, he is punished without pitie: and that there are appointed Officers to looke to those things which are in way that the souldiers march, so as bread, eggs, Fruites, Oates, and such like things are carried by Boyes of eight or tenn years old, and nothing touched; and Orchards full of fruit by the way-side, yet none dare pluck an Apple without the owners consent; if he doe, his head is lost for it. Let Christian-souldiers thinke it a shame that Heathens and Turkes should outgoe them in just and innocent Actions and demeanours; And let them study so to carry themselvs, both in marches and quarters, that they may say as *Samuel*, *whose Ox have* I *taken*, *or whose Asse have I taken? who have* I *defrauded? whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have* I *received any bribes*? And when they enter into Armes, take unto them the brave

Si vis Tribunus esse, imò si vis vivere, manus militum contine, nemo pullum alienum rapiat, ovem nemo contingat, uvam nullus auferat, segetem non deterat, oleum, sal, lignum nemo exigat, Annonâ suâ quisque contentus sit, de prædâ hostis, non de lachrymis provincialium habeat. *Citatur à Bucano loc. de Magistratu quæst.* 50. *Philip. Camerar. Meditat. Histor. Tom.* 1. *cap.* 5.

1 Sam. 12. 3.

resolution

reſolution which *Abraham* carried in his noble breaſt, when he came to the aſſiſtance of the King of *Sodome*, againſt *Chedorlaomer*, and to relieve his friend *Lot*, who was taken priſoner, that he would not take from a threed even to a ſhoolatchet: Let them walk in the ſteps of their father *Abraham*, and they ſhall march unto ſalvation, and reſt in *Abrahams* boſome; And as their Fame ſhall be honourable, ſo ſhall their harmleſſe ſpirits, holding a true faith in Jeſus Chriſt, the Captaine of our ſalvation, when they ſhall ſigh them out upon their bedds, or dropp them out at their wounds, with their blood upon the field, ſo encourage them, that they may ſay, *I neither ſhame to live, nor do I ſhrinke, or am affraid to die.*

Nec pudet vivere, nec piget mori.

II.

Secondly, if ſuch innocency be required in ſouldiers, what is required of men imployed in places and vocations of peace, and tranquility in the Commonwealth, how innocent ought they to bee, to Life and Perſon, Name and Credite, Goods and Eſtates of their Neighbours, not to wrong them, but according to their abilitie, to labour and endeavour to preſerve them, and neglect no meanes that may doe them good; For by theſe two wayes it is offended againſt our Neighbour, either by commiſſion of injuries, or omiſſion of kindneſſes, according to the ſaying of S. *Auſten*, *By two wayes wee offend againſt a man, one way if he be hurt of us. the other is, if when it is in our power, he be not holpen of us*; And another teacheth

What innocency is required of men in times and places of peace.

Duobus modis peccatur in hominem, uno modo ſi lædatur; alio modo ſi cùm poteſt, non adjuvetur. *Auſten de moribus eccleſiæ.*

Non sufficit abstinere à malo, nisi fiat quod bonum est, & parum est nemini nocere, nisi studias multis prodesse. *Prosper. titul. Epigr. 77.*

Omnibus Officiis, omibus ætatibus, necessaria, & ab omnibus deferenda misericordia; non Publicanus, non miles excipitur, non agricola, vel urbanus, dives & pauper, &c. *Ambros. in locum.* Luke 16.

teacheth us, that *It is not sufficient to abstaine from doing ill, except that be done which is good; and it small avails to hurt no man, except thou studiest to help and profit many.* And it is observed by S. *Ambrose*, that of these precepts, which *Iohn* gave to his hearers, some were peculiar to particular men, but the precept of mercy is a common precept, *Mercy is necessary to all offices; and is of all men to be shewn or performed, there is neither Publican nor Souldier excepted, nor countryman, nor citizen, nor rich, nor poore, none is exempted: all men in generall are admonished that they helpe him, that hath not of his owne to helpe himselfe;* The omission of this was the condemnation of the Richman that gave no foode nor Raiment to hungrie and naked *Lazarus*, wee finde no mention of any that he had oppressed, and yet is he found to bee in Hell in torments; and if it thus befell the neglect of mercy, what shall befall to acts of crueltie? If the fruitlesse figtree be accursed, what shall become of thornes and briars, such as murderers, fighters, quarellers, slanderers base informers, and such others, and all, who (not content with that portion that God hath given them) do by cheating, oppression and extortion, or any injust way advance and enrich themselves with the damage, defamation and undoing of others? If at the last doome for the omission of mercy, it shall be said, *Goe ye cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the Divell and his Angels; For I was an hungry, and yee gave me no meate,*

meate, I was thirſty, and ye gave me no drink, I was a ſtranger, and ye took mee not in, naked, and yee cloathed me not, ſick, and in priſon, and yee viſited mee not; With what confuſion ſhall it be heard, if Chriſt ſhall ſay:

Goe yee curſed Tyrants, oppreſſours, and perſecutours into everlaſting fire; for the meane food which God had given mee, yee tooke it from mee; from the poore and homely habitation which I enjoyed, yee expelled and baniſhed mee; of the Rayment and Cloathes, wherewith my nakedneſſe was covered from the eyes of men, and my weakneſſe ſhielded from the violence of the weather, yee have ſtripped mee; of my health, wherein I cheare-fully walked with God, and ſerved my Neighbour in love and charitie, yee have bereaved mee; of my libertie, yee have reſtrained mee, and in cloſe priſons and dungeons ſhut mee up; and all this though yee have not done to mee in the members of my naturall body, yet have yee done it to theſe little ones, the members of my miſticall Bodie; who

are as precious to mee as mine owne life; For their sakes I tooke upon mee the forme of a Servant, I gave my spotlesse blood, and endured the bitter paines of death and Hell for their Redemption.

Surely to hear this will much amaze and confound, for if he were speechlesse (upon the check) who wanted the Wedding garment, needs must he be dumb and without excuse whose garments are rolled in blood, and as red as Scarlet and Crimson, Dyed in the blood and sufferings of the Innocent.

One short Observation more would I desirously commend to your Christian piety, and therewith take leave, it being consolatory that I may be free, as in mine own intentions, so in others estimation, from suspition of having spoken or written any thing which hath not proceeded from unfaigned Charity, the proper fountain of all Christian Actions. Whereas these Souldiers who had been addicted to violence, rapine and other vices, and were men accounted the worst alive (as afore from sundry Authors is observed) now comming to *John*, confessing and sorrowfull for their sins, and desiring directions which they might observe in seeking salvation, are not rejected of *John* as men without hope, but are rather received

received and instructed what to do, and how to demean themselves for the future, with an intimation of safety upon the performance of that which is prescribed; We collect, *That great sinners repenting and reforming themselves, may obtain salvation*; If there had not been time of repentance and hope of salvation upon repentance and amendment, he would not have exhorted these souldiers to amendment. S. *Hierome* hath a collection not unlike hereunto upon the Epistles of Jesus Christ to some of the Churches:

Observation. *Great sinners repenting may obtain salvation.*

Hieron. in Epist. adversus Luciferan.

Revel. 2. 3.

First, the Church of *Ephesus* had left her first love; the Church of *Pergamus* also was not free from all offence, for she had in her some which did hold the doctrine of *Balaam*, which taught to eat things offered to Idols, and to commit Fornication; and such as held the doctrine of the the *Nicolaitans*; and the Church of *Thyatira* did suffer the false Propheteſſe *Jezabel*, which seduced men to commit Fornication, and to eate things offered to Idols; *Yet all these the Lord exhorts to repentance, and that under a threat of a punishment to come upon them, except they did repent; but he would not have pressed to repentance except he would grant pardon to them that repented.* And another ancient Author observes as much of other Churches mentioned in those Sacred Epistles; In the Church of *Sardis* the imperfection of workes; in the *Laodiceans* confidence in riches

Et tamen hos omnes Dominus hortatur ad pœnitentiam, sub commiatione quoque futuræ pœnæ, nisi convertantur; non autem cogeret pœnitere, si non esset pœnitentibus veniam concessurus.

riches is reprehended; *And yet these he admonisheth to repent, and that under threatnings, except they repented; But he would not threaten him that repents not, except he would pardon him that doth repent.* This ariseth from the goodnesse of the nature of God, as may be seen in the Proclamation, which past before his manifestation to *Moses*, *The Lord mercifull and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in goodnesse and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and sinne.* And the Prophet will tell us from GOD, that he hath no pleasure in the death of him that dieth.

Et tamen ad pœnitentiam commonet, sub comminationibus quidem; non comminaretur autem non pœnitenti, si non ignosceret pœnitenti. *Tertul. de pœnitent.*

Exod. 34. 6, 7.

Ezek. 18. 32.

For this end Jesus Christ the Son of God came into the world, that he might seek and save that which was lost, and that hee might call the sinners to Repentance, yea, even such sinners as in the eye of man none could exceede, even them that put him to death, for whom hee prayed, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they doe;* Of whom we finde some afterward (hearing their sin in crucifying and murdering the Lord of life, taxed by *Peter*) pricked in conscience, and crying out (like the souldiers in the Text) *what shall wee doe? &c.* and by *Peter* directed to this medicine of Repentance and Baptisme, with a promise of forgiveneſſe of sins, and receiving the Holy Ghost. Of these we may say, and inferre with S. *Austen*; This people it was of whom Christ

Luke 23. 34.

Acts 2. 37.

Aust. Tract. 38. in in Evang. secundum Joannem.

Christ was crucified, of whom he was hanged on a Tree, of whom, hanging there, he was derided, of whom he was thurst thorow with a Speare, of whom was given unto him Vineger mingled with Gall to drink: yet for these he prayes, Father forgive them, for they knowe not what they doe, *And what is there that is not to be forgiven to him that is converted, when the blood of Christ being shed, was thus forgiven?*

Quid autem converso non ignoscitur, si fusus Christi sanguis ignoscitur.

The application hereof shall be comprised in two words;

Application.

I.

First, seeing great sinners repenting and reforming themselves, may be forgiven, it calls us to repentance, as the prophet *Ezekiel*, first propounding and promising pardon, upon repentance and amendment, calls them to reformation, and casting away their transgressions; and this he doth as it were by an expostulation, or reasoning the matter, *For why will ye die O house of Israel?* As if hee should say, If yee will not repent and be saved, but wilfully, and are guiltie of your own destruction, and that not only by sin committed, but also by the remedie of Repentance neglected; And this also is confirmed of God by an oath, *As I live saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of a sinner; but that the wicked should turne from his way, and live; Turne yee, turne yee from your evill wayes, for why will ye die O house of Israel!* Hereon is thus

It calls sinners to repentance.

Ezekiel 18.

Ezek. 33. 11.

much noted; *Repentance therefore is life, when it is perferred before death: Thou therefore O ſinner, ſo ſeaze upon it, and ſo imbrace it, as a ſhip-wrackt man doth ſome truſty piece of a plank broken out of the ſhipp, this ſhall lift thee up being ſunk under the waves of thy ſins; and draw thee into the haven of Gods mercy.*

Ergò pœnitentia vita eſt, cùm præponitur morti; eam tu peccator ita invade, ita amplectere, ut naufragus alicujus tabulæ fidem; hæc te peccatorum fluctibus merſum proleva-bit, & in portum Divinæ clementiæ protelabit. *Tertul. de pœnit.*

2. *Conſolation to true penitents.*

Secondly, it comforts thoſe that are truely penitent for their ſinnes, wherein they have long lived; or are of great guilt and offence in the eyes of God, as Murder, Whordome, oppreſſion, and ſuch like, upon their repentance and amendment they are pardonable, if they will waſh and make themſelves cleane, then though their ſinnes were as Scarlet, they ſhall be white as Snow, if they be redde like Crimſon, they ſhall bee as Wooll: Can any blood or ſin whatſoever die a deeper colour then the ſacred blood of the Sonn of God? and yet wee ſee that forgiven to the Jewes repenting and embracing the faith; For when they (wounded in conſcience) ſay, *what ſhall we doe?* they are directed to this remedie with hope of cure and ſafety. Which may teach us, *That no man ſhould diſpaire of the forgiveneſſe of his ſinne, when they obtained pardon that killed Chriſt*, as ſaith Saint *Auſten*; wee will end with a ſaying of the ſame Father, which may ſerve unto us, both as a Cordiall againſt deſpaire, and a caveat againſt preſumption; *No man therefore*

Esai. 1. 18.

Ut nemo de peccati ſui remiſſione deſperet, quando illi veniam meruerunt, qui occidêrunt Chriſtum. *Auſt. in Tract. 31. in Evang. ſecund. Joannem.*

(although hee bee loaden with an huge burden of sinne) ought to despaire of the goodnesse of Gods mercy, but out of hope of that assured mercy, with dayly teares to begge their pardons; which they may rightly expect, if they shall cease from acting their evill workes. And on the other side avoyd presumption. Wee ought not therefore to sinne, or constantly persevere in sinne, becausse of the hope of forgiveneſſe, but keeping our selves in the golden mean and swimming in the clear streame of the living Waters, that shall flow out of the belly of him that beleeveth on Christ; Both dangers being avoyded, let us flye and decline that which is evill, and hope for pardon from the mercy of God.

Amen.

Nemo igitur (quamvis ingenti pondere peccatorum prematur) de bonitate divinæ pietatis desperare debeat. *Ibidem Serm. de temp.* 53.

Ideò non propter spem veniæ perseveranter peccare debemus. Utroque periculo evitato, & à malo declinemus, & de pietate Dei veniam speremus.

Laus Deo.

FINIS.

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